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vances towards it, the establishment of the principle that the friendly flag shall cover the cargo, the curtailment of contraband of war, and the proscription of fictitious paper blockades, engagements which we may reasonably hope will not prove impracticable, will, if successfully inculcated, redound proportionally to our honor, and drain the fountain of many a future sanguinary war." *

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The international bodies which have hitherto existed under the denomination of congresses, have differed, in some important respects, from that prospective assembly, to which the attention of the friends of peace has been called. In the first place, they have not been of a permanent character; they have been called into existence in connection with particular emergences; and have terminated as soon as the circumstances which called them into being would permit. Again, being created for particular occasions, they have generally been limited to a few nations, those which were particularly interested, and have not embraced the great body of European and civilized states. Their influence, accordingly, has been more limited, than it would otherwise be. Furthermore, they have been, in their design and in their operations, remedial rather than preventive. They have been summoned together in order to heal the wounds which have been inflicted, to shut the fountains of wretchedness which war has opened; rather than by antecedent measures to prevent wars taking place. The congress which the friends of peace contemplate, differs essentially; it is meant to include every civilized nation; it is designed to be a permanent assembly, in order to meet the cases of misunderstanding and difficulty, which are constantly arising. At the same time, it is not intended to be legislative, but purely diplomatic and consultative; a sort of high court of reference and advice, employed in forming treaties and conventions, in adjusting, on the principles of equity, those conflicting claims of its members, which they may see fit to refer to it; and in settling the doubtful principles of the public code. And in all these measures, its great object, that for which it is primarily and particularly proposed, is the preservation of universal peace. The mere suggestion of the existence of such an assembly is enough to excite interest; that it is one of the things within the range of possibility, cannot be doubted; and the mere possibility, not to say, probability, of its being called into existence, cannot fail to call forth thought, discussion and effort.

MR. LORD'S ADDRESS,

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

Resolved, That it betrays singular ignorance of the genius of Christianity, and the progress of reform, to say that it is of no use to make special effort for the cause of peace.

Sir, nothing is more common, than to hear people express their surprise, that direct effort should be insisted on in our cause. Only make men Christians, they say, and wars will cease of course; only preach the gospel, and you will accomplish your object.

Sir, we know that the cause of peace cannot advance when

^{*} American State Papers, 1825, 1826.

Christian principles are not recognised as rules of action. We know that it is only the gospel which will cause the "sword to be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks."

Rat how are we to preach the gospel? Are we to tell people that they must be good, and obey the benevolent precepts of the Bible? or must we specify their duties, and enforce the spirit of Christianity in reference to bad customs and institutions?

The notion has long prevailed, that the general promulgation of gospel truths would silently effect the regeneration of man. Wherever this delusion has existed, the great moral aspects of society have not materially changed. The world has gone on in its old courses, while the church has abounded with good Christians. As the salt of the earth, they may have preserved it from increasing corruption, but have not infused into society that principle of moral life, which would grow brighter and brighter with the progress of ages, until it has regenerated government and science, and changed the whole system of human life. It is not asserted that Christians have not lamented the evils with which they are surrounded, and panted for the day when they would be abandoned; but they have not directly attempted to remove that burden of iniquity, which was pressing down a degraded community to eternal despair.

Sir, what avails prayer without action? What profit is it to tell

Sir, what avails prayer without action? What profit is it to tell people of the loveliness of virtue, and the consequences of sin, so long as sin is not pointed out? Why urge men to flee from evil in the abstract, when their blunted moral perceptions cannot discern where the evil is? What must be the effect of that sort of preaching? Just what has happened. Society, in a moral point of view, has not advanced, for three hundred years, as was expected. Christianity has kept it from retrograding, but has not proved the glorious remedy which we know it may be, which its advocates assert. The great abuses of society have been tolerated among Christians, because they have not enforced the principles of the gospel in reference to them.

But delusion cannot last for ever. A lie, as Carlyle says, is unbelievable. It has been detected and exposed, and it will be extinguished.

Christians are now enforcing that great principle of moral reform which has been forgotten since the early ages of the church,—since the time when Paul, and Polycarp, and Irenæus, and Justin, and Cyprian, wielded the spiritual weapons of love with such singular potency. I mean the application of the principles of the gospel to the abolition of those evils which spring from human pride, and passion, and interest; those internal evils which have ever undermined the moral health of Christendom.

Do you suppose that the reformers of the sixteenth century would have swept away the external vices which had so long deformed the church, unless they had directed against them all their moral artillery? What reformers would they have made, had they merely told men to worship God in simplicity, without first convincing them that the whole pile of papal fraud was against the genius of Christianity? It is true that the crosier and the scarlet robe, the sculptured image and the wax tapers, the sale of indulgences and the pretensions of the Romish bishop, were not directly forbidden in the Scripture. But Luther, and Zuingle, and Knox, knew that the same

made slaves of men, and was opposed to a spiritual worship; and that was enough. But it was not until their voice was heard against these impostures, that men awoke from the slumber of ages, and cast on the altar of truth their monastic superstitions, the images of the saints, the bulls of popes—the external devices of the spira of evil.

But here they stopped. Having effected an external reformation of gross imposture, they were content. The church went to sleep again, until Wilberforce aroused it to contemplate the evils of the slave trade. Did the gospel have any effect on men until it was applied to this enormity? It was not until its moral character was fairly developed, and its consequences distinctly presented, that

public opinion condemned it.

The great principle of reform again introduced, reformation might have extended to other evils, had not the grand volcano of the French revolution, followed by that awful political hurricane which desolated Europe, diverted the attention of agitated millions. When "Napoleon performed his stupendous tragedy, with the music of cannon volleys, and the murder shrieks of a world, when his stage lights were the fires of conflagration, and his rhyme and recitation were the shouts of embattled hosts, and the sounds of falling cities," then was no time for reform. But as soon as those fearful commotions were brought to a consummation, and the blood had flowed at Waterloo to the horses' bridles, men began to pause—to reflect—to reform.

Happily, its great principle was not forgotten. The most alarming evil in the community was intemperance. It was eating out the vitals of the body politic. But the remedy was applied. At the school of the prophets, was heard the cry, "touch not, taste not, handle not." It was reëchoed throughout the land, through the civilized world. In ten years, wonders were effected. The walls of Jericho fell. Who would have thought that those old battlements of Satan could be prostrated by the simple cry, that the use of alcohol is a sin? Where is the man who pretends that the temperance reformation was not effected by the special effort of the church?

But is there such mighty magic in the principle of temperance reform, and shall it not be made use of by the other benefactors of mind? Shall the cry of two millions of miserable captives rise up to heaven, unheeded by Christians, when the remedy was found? No, for there is a conservative strength in the church. From east to west, from north to south, the cry was heard that slavery is a sin. What though some deny it? Is it not better that some should cling to a lie, than that a continent should sleep? O, where are the hopes of the slave, should the old dogma be believed, that special effort is not needed to break up one of the strongest citadels of the great enemy of man?

Since the principles of the gospel have been applied to the abolition of particular evils, how interesting, how wonderful the progress of reform! There are successively detected, not the existence, but the character and tendency of evils, more flagrant and disgraceful—evils which we should naturally suppose would have been the first to be exposed. Let us not, then, in this age of improvement, indulge the idea that there are no more moral reformations to be effected, nor popular delusions to be removed. It may be that the greatest

errors shall be the very last to be relinquished. Yes; long after the great abuses of society, which now have excited the attention of philanthropists, shall have passed away, some new deformity in the social system, some new development of the spirit of selfishness, may be seen, and only with great difficulty, be removed. And indeed, it may be, that the noxious vapors of that long night of superstition, in which the prince of evil has reigned, may brood and hang over us, like the clouds and mists of the morning, and not disappear until the Sun of righteousness shall burst forth. Such are the truths, taught us by the history of reform. So slow is the work of human improvement; so difficult for the spiritual in man to triumph.

Sir, no delusion more fatal, no lie more foul, has yet been detected, than that which the friends of peace are now laboring to expose. And there is no object of human improvement, in respect to which there has been so much apathy. We confess that we are grieved with, but do not censure, those who tell us that wars will cease only with the gradual triumph of Christian principles; because we know the strength of the delusions respecting war. Has it not ever been deemed necessary, just and glorious? Is not this falsehood instilled into the mind in the nursery, and at school, by the parent and the teacher, the great master of political science, and the minister of the Prince of peace? Do we dream of any remedy for oppression but sanguinary and uncompromising resistance? Is not retaliation the favorite precept of political wisdom? Must not force be opposed by force, according to all the maxims in which we are educated? Is not military enthusiasm, the world over, synonymous with patriotism? To kindle desire for the warrior's excellence, are employed all the powers of mind, has been prostituted the genius of the world. On the warrior are the praises of all countries lavished. He is exalted to the pinnacle of renown. His glories screen from the public eye the noblest and the best. He is styled the patron of mankind. He lives the fond object of popular idolatry, and when he dies, whatever his vices, we are told, that "his intrepid spirit rises triumphantly from the field of his glory to his kindred element." His image is handed down to posterity in the animate marble, and his exploits in the poet's immortal lay.

When we consider the influence to which we have been exposed, it is not strange that people are slow to believe that war is a sin. Who can estimate the power of prejudice? Who is not impressed with the mysterious efficacy of that spell which is conjured by the suffrage of antiquity—which is maintained by the institution and opinion of a world? We do not blame men, then, we do not wonder that they have not examined the subject of peace with that attention which it deserves. But this we do say, that there is every reason to believe that delusion will continue, in reference to war, until Christians shall apply the principle of the gospel to its immediate, its total abolition. For every thing favors it—the prejudices of education, the opinions of antiquity, the sophistry of the wise and noble, the apathy of the good, the inclinations of the heart. "The best eyes in the world," says bishop Butler, "can only see the way in which they are direct-

And tell us, Sir, why special effort should not be made by Christians to effect the abolition of this custom? Has not the gospel been proclaimed with zeal and power by the very men who have

advocated war? Does not a mighty delusion exist respecting it? Is it not an evil of the most overwhelming magnitude? Does it not drain all the sources of national wealth, and bring poverty, wretchedness and despair? Does it not desolate the earth, and send its deluded inhabitants to a premature end? Does it not send forth a noxious vapor, which spreads over the land, and undermines the moral health? Does it not cause the ruin of the immortal hopes and ends of man? View it which way we will, is not a dark and melancholy picture presented? Is it not all deformity—destructive to the whole moral image in which we were created—ruinous alike to the bodies and souls of men?

And is this realized? Does not a martial spirit exist, which leads to war, and which only needs an occasion, to burst forth and flame with hideous combustion? Can any one assign a sensible reason why this cause should not call forth the sympathies and direct efforts of Christians? Does not the whole analogy of human events show, that no evil of great magnitude—springing from the passions and the interests of man—yet invested with a charm and a glory—ever was abandoned, so long as public attention was not specially directed to it?

I know that we dread to face this subject. I know that we dare not examine candidly the arguments against the total abolition of war. Who does not fear change, a radical change, in those deeprooted opinions which we have ever been taught to cherish? But where is the moral elevation which precludes examination, because a great change in our opinion may be thereby effected? Why, this peace subject is greater than few of us dream of. It is hardly understood by any body. It is connected with the whole system of moral and political science, with all the ramifications of social life. Its very magnitude is one great cause of popular apathy. The objects we aim at are too big almost for hope. But shall we be awed by the greatness of the work? "O, tell us not," said J. Q. Adams, "when we speak to believers in the gospel of peace, tell us not of impossibilities, when human improvement is the theme. Nothing is impossible, which may be effected by the human will.

"Let it be impressed upon the minds of every one of you—impress it on the minds of your children—that the total abolition of war is an event entirely depended on the will of man. He cannot (continues this enlightened statesman) change the laws of his physical nature. He cannot redeem himself from the ills which flesh is heir to; but the ills of war and slavery are all of his own creation. He has but to will, and he effects the cessation of them all. How long, O, how long, before the fig-tree shall come up instead of the bramble, and the myrtle instead of the brier! But let us not despair of its final accomplishment. 'The sword shall be beaten into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning-hooks, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'"

CORRESPONDENCE.

WM. LADD, Esq., Brown's Corner, April 4th, 1838.

Dear Sir,—I have drawn up a constitution for a peace society, consisting of that part of the sermon on the mount, which relates to peace. If I can get